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ABSTRACT

Some basic principles are discussed that can help divorcing parents understand the feelings and behaviors of their children, and guidelines are suggested for parents wanting to help their children adjust to the divorce-induced changes in their lives. The process of divorce is discussed in terms of children's experience, cause and effect, and time. The need for sensitive communication between parents and children prior to the divorce is pointed out. Children's reactions to the stress of divorce at different ages are described, with particular attention given to children's emotional reactions and the extent of their intellectual and emotional maturity. Concluding remarks focus on outcomes for children after the divorce and emphasize the importance of the quality of the parents' post-divorce relationship and of the parenting provided by the custodial and visiting parents. Suggested readings for children and adults are cited. (RH)

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Children and Divorce

by Suzanne E. West

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Children and Divorce

Making a decision to seek a divorce, especially if you have children, is probably one of the most difficult dilemmas you may ever face. You may be overwhelmed with your own problems and your feelings of anger, fear, and loneliness. At the same time, you want to do what is best for your children, to protect them from harm and to meet their needs. Most parents, whether they decide to stay together or to separate, feel guilt about the ways in which their own unhappy situation may be affecting their children. They wonder what to tell the children, when, and under what circumstances. They worry or argue about arranging for the continuing relationships between parents and children as the relationship between the marital partners changes or diminishes.

There is little agreement on what *is* best for children—each child and each family is unique. The old, conventional wisdom of "staying together for the good of the children" seems to be disproved, yet separating does not necessarily result in benefits for the children. The hard truth of the matter is that what is best for one or both of the parents may not always be best for each of the children, but the adults must make the decision and help the children to cope with the results. A course of action that supports the parents' own growth toward self-respect is likely, in the long run, to be most helpful to the children's growth as independent persons.

If you and your spouse decide to separate, what reactions might you expect from your children? What behaviors are normal, appropriate responses to a major upheaval in their lives? How can you help them cope with the transitions that the divorce will bring? Some basic principles can help you understand the feelings and behaviors of children of different ages at different points in the divorcing process. Guidelines for helping children adjust to the inevitable changes in their lives can be drawn from this understanding.

Divorce Is a Process

A divorce is not a single event, but rather it is a chain of events that results in changes in the emotional, social, sexual, economic, and legal lives of the adults. Although divorces are becoming more and more common, our culture still emphasizes the crisis and the sense of loss and failure. The words often used—"broken home," "ex-wife"—illustrate society's lack of recognition that the process, though undoubtedly very painful, may, eventually, be moving a family toward a more satisfactory state. As social scientists begin to study divorcing families, they are observing that there are "stages of family reorganization" that seem to occur in many families, beginning with the distress of the troubled marriage, moving to physical separation and disruption of patterns of family functioning, legal action, and the gradual reestablishment of stability and new kinds of relationships among family members. This process often extends over several years, with parents and children experiencing different hopes, disappointments, difficulties, and accomplishments at each stage.

Children's Experience of the Process

Children are like adults in the emotions they feel, but different from adults in their understanding of the events that give rise to the emotions. Just as parents experience confusion, anger, and pain, so does a child, but his or her reasons may be quite different. Young children's perspective on the situation, their views of cause and effect, and their sense of time differ significantly from adults. Adolescents' thinking is more adultlike, but their special developmental needs also influence their reactions to parental divorce. (Teen-agers' typical responses will be dealt with in a later section.)

Perspective. Children are dependent upon parental love and care, so they primarily are concerned with how a divorce will affect their *own* well-being. A child's world consists largely of his or her own family. Evidence of disruption of that family may cause a child to feel that the whole world is coming apart. This can be extremely

frightening because children have little experience or knowledge of other ways in which their needs can be met. If a parent can fall out of love with a partner, can a parent also stop loving a child? If one parent leaves the home, will the other one go too? Because of children's basic need for protection and support from parents, their fears are appropriate and normal, if not always realistic.

Cause and effect. Children usually love *both* parents, despite the flaws each partner may see in the other. Because they cannot understand the complexities of adult relationships, young children may assume that they did something to cause their parents' anger or to provoke the departure of one parent from the home. Perhaps "Daddy left because I was too noisy." On the other hand, if they are mature enough to recognize that they have not caused the upheaval, they may feel powerless and act to regain a sense of control. Children of all ages are faced with the dilemma of their own continuing need for and identification with *both* parents—in the face of the evidence that the parents no longer love each other. They fervently want their parents to be together, and they may believe that if they act in certain ways, they can reunite the family even though they, in fact, have little control over the outcome.

Time. As all parents know from the experience of taking an automobile trip with children or trying to explain how long it will be until a birthday, young children's sense of time is much more limited and concrete than that of older children or adults. A few months of conflict or confusion in the family is, in fact, a much greater proportion of the child's life, but it may also *seem* to the child as if it is "forever." If one parent has moved out, a few days or weeks of wondering where that parent really is or waiting for a visit may feel endless—and therefore, be acutely disturbing.

Most children strive to make sense of the changes in their lives and have the ability to do so, but they need adult help to understand what is happening in

their family and how it will affect their daily lives. They need adults to reassure them that they are still loved and will be taken care of. They need adults to accept their feelings and help them find appropriate ways to express them. And they need as much predictability and consistency as is possible during a time of "craziness" in the family . Sometimes parents are not able to do all these jobs while dealing with their own turmoil. Other relatives, neighbors, family friends, and teachers may be able to provide some of the support children need. Given these supports, most children will weather the storm and move along in their own development.

Each child is unique and will handle the changes involved in parental divorce in his or her own special way. Some children may be able to ask questions and express their feelings verbally. Many children express themselves through behaviors—crying, withdrawing, regressing to earlier ways of acting, or becoming aggressive. Because all children develop in a sequence of stages, with different needs, abilities, fears, and understandings at different ages, there are keys to interpreting their behaviors and helping them to cope with the changes in their lives. Knowing something about the typical reactions of children of a particular age, knowing the patterns of behavior of an individual child, and knowing the stage in the divorcing process all can be useful in giving children appropriate support.

Before the Divorce

As problems in the marriage become worse, children may recognize their parents' unhappiness, but few see divorce as the solution. Until they become adolescents, children have little capacity to understand their parents' points of view and, therefore, see their family in terms of how it meets their own needs. If they feel loved and cared for by one or both parents, they probably will continue to be relatively happy. They will, however, be affected by the angry, bitter feelings of the parents, especially if they are drawn into conflicts, asked to take sides,

or encouraged to reject one of the parents. In the throes of their own hurts, parents sometimes forget that the child is part of both parents; asking him or her to criticize one parent assaults the child's identity.

Pretending that nothing is wrong or making the difficulties seem trivial can be equally confusing for the children. If a parent's behavior is clearly uncaring or abusive, children usually know it. Acknowledging the facts and clearly identifying the problems as belonging to the parents are most helpful to children. For example, if one parent abandons the family, a child may realistically question whether that parent loves him or her. The child may be able to accept that the parent is not able at this time to be a loving person but that does not mean that the child is unlovable. A child in this circumstance may need to hear time and time again that he or she is lovable and loved.

Telling the children. As the marriage moves close to an end, whether by mutual consent of the partners or by action of one of them, it is essential that the children be specifically informed of the state of things and the ways in which they will be affected. There appears to be an important connection between a child's capacity to understand and make sense of what is happening in the family and his or her ability to cope with it, both immediately and in the long run. The child's efforts to handle the stress are strengthened when he or she "understands the divorce as a serious and a carefully considered remedy for an important problem, when the divorce appears purposeful and rationally undertaken, and indeed succeeds in bringing relief and a happier outcome for one or both parents."[1] In contrast, divorce that appears as a "bolt out of the blue," undertaken impulsively or without good reasons, can leave children bewildered and shaken in their faith in their parents' ability to keep them safe.

Tell the truth—but not the whole truth. The details of the parental conflict are the private concern of

the parents. Children do not need and usually do not *want* to know. Children do need explanations appropriate to their age and level of understanding. Preschool children think in terms of observable behavior. An explanation that would fit their experience might go, in part, something like this: "Mommy and Daddy feel like fighting all the time. We have tried very hard to be friends and get along, but we just can't seem to do it. We have decided that it would be better for us if we didn't live in the same house. That way we can be happier and we can both take better care of you." School-age children can understand more abstract language and have a more mature sense of time and of how things and people change over time. Adolescents are beginning to comprehend the complexities of personality and relationships, so will need more subtle details.

A divorce is the parents' decision. It should be made clear by the parents that it is their decision, based on the problems between them, and that the children are not responsible and cannot change anything. This message may need to be repeated many, many times before children truly grasp it.

What will happen to me? It is very supportive to children if their sense of order and coherence is not undermined, if they can feel reassured that they will continue to be loved by both parents and that their reasonable needs will be recognized and met. Children's confidence in their parents' ability to take care of them seems to be strengthened if parents can manage to agree on arrangements rather than turning over their decision-making power to the courts. Often plans are incomplete and tentative at this point, but if children can be given at least a few definite expectations, they can begin to organize their own thinking about the changes. They will want to know approximately when they will see and be with each parent, where they will keep their belongings, and how the divorce will affect their school attendance and their friendships.

Listening to the children. It is important that part of telling the children also be listening for their understanding and feelings about the situation. If they are encouraged throughout the process to air their views and to ask questions, they will be less likely to experience misconceptions, resentment, or anxiety. However, if your child asks, "Can I go play now?" or turns on the television, it does not mean that he or she doesn't care or isn't interested. Young children may need to see that one parent is actually moving out before they believe it will happen. Some children may express disbelief, anger, or sadness at the time of your talk, but others need time to let the information settle in before they respond. The apparent lack of reaction can be a useful way of coping. By letting the news in a bit at a time, a person regulates the amount of stress he or she can handle. If your child does not show any emotion, it may be helpful to recognize aloud that it is a hard time for everyone in the family, but that you fully expect that you all will make it through and things will get better. Again, it is important to remember that you are involved in a long process of many changes and adjustments. Probably more of everyone's feelings will come out in the open in the next stage of the divorce.

During the Divorce

The actual, physical separation of the parents forces the children to confront the splitting up of the family. It is probably the most stressful time for them. Acute unhappiness and anxiety are expected reactions that signal a need for comfort, but that are not necessarily cause for alarm. The kinds of feelings and behaviors that one can expect depend largely on the age of the child,[2] but these can occur "normally" at ages other than those suggested below. They are reactions to stress and may be seen in response to less major upheavals as well.

Preschool Children (up to five years old)

Fear. The fear of abandonment is very common and is expressed in a variety of ways. Routine

separations become more difficult for the child, who may cling, whine, or have tantrums when left at school or with a sitter. When the parent returns, the child may greet him or her with tears or crankiness. Children sometimes develop fear of the dark, resistance to bedtime, wakefulness at night, and demands to get into the parent's bed. Some children seem to fear hunger and become upset about food and mealtimes.

Regression. Most children regress for a short time, perhaps a few weeks or months. They may return to the comfort of security blankets or outgrown toys, have lapses in toilet training, or masturbate more frequently. These behaviors are ways of telling us that the stresses are too much, that the child needs to go back to a safer time, perhaps to gather strength to continue growing.

Aggression. Some children become more irritable and engage in more fighting with brothers and sisters or friends, while other children show an increased fear of aggression and of being hurt. These behaviors may be related to witnessing parents quarreling or may occur even without that stimulation as a way of expressing concern about the conflicts in the family.

Guilt and self-blame. Young children move between extremes of feeling helpless and of taking total responsibility for the split. At this age it is almost impossible for them to grasp other ideas of cause and effect.

Efforts at mastery. Children may become actively involved in meeting their own needs. They may reach out to adults in or outside the family for affection and physical contact. They may express their understanding of the situation through their drawings, play, or words. They may try to gain control over some aspects of their lives by solving puzzles repetitively, by insisting on a certain order or ritual, or by making up stories about their lives that may be more satisfying than the present reality. A child who says, "I go see my daddy whenever I want to,"

is probably expressing his or her wishes, even though from an adult view the statement is not true.

Young School-aged Children (six to eight years old)

The greater intellectual and emotional maturity of this age provides children with the capacity to be a little more independent of parents' problems. Their understanding of time enables them to distinguish the immediate from the distant future and to estimate time between visits with a parent. They know they have separate relationships with each parent and can count on different kinds of behavior from each parent, but it is still almost impossible for them to recognize parents' needs as separate from their own or to have more than very limited, simple ideas of cause and effect.

Fear. Anxiety about abandonment is still common at this age. It may be expressed through overeating, begging for gifts, or fantasies about special treats or vacations.

Grief. Intense sadness and sense of loss, often expressed as yearning for the departed parent, are frequent reactions at this age. Children may cry themselves to sleep or express the conviction that nothing feels right. There seems to be little relation between this behavior and the previous degree of closeness between the child and the missing parent.

Anger. If anger is expressed at this age, it is more likely to be directed at the custodial parent than at the departed parent. Perhaps children feel that that parent has the power to make it all better again.

Wishes for reconciliation. Children of this age seem unable to avoid the pain of being pulled in both directions, of feeling "split in two" by the parents' separation. Their solution is to bring back an intact family, whether by assuming the role of a parent themselves, by pleading with the parents to

come back together, or by asking the custodial parent to remarry, "to get a new daddy."

Older School-aged Children (nine to twelve years old)

As children mature, they develop new coping skills, are better able to understand the complex realities of relationships, and have more capacity to withstand stress without regressing.

Awareness. At this age, children begin to act in more conscious ways to keep their anxiety under control. They may recognize the connection between the stress and their stomachaches or headaches. They may choose to separate themselves from the turmoil ("I keep my cool;" "I don't think about it much"). They sometimes seek other adults to talk with or they may consciously lie to outsiders to protect their parents or avoid their own embarrassment about the troubles in their family.

Action. By this age, they usually recognize their own lack of control over their parents' behavior, so they may react by moving into action to gain control. Sometimes this is done directly by scolding or instructing the parents or sometimes indirectly by putting their energies into some activity outside the family.

Anger. A fully conscious, intense anger most clearly distinguishes this age group from the younger children. They often express it directly and clearly to one or both parents, but usually to the parent they blame for the divorce. Morality is an important concern at this age; children may react with outrage at being corrected by a parent who in their opinion is behaving in an immoral or irresponsible way. Some children may become overly stern and righteous, while others may indulge in petty stealing and lying. Both behaviors express their feelings of the importance of rules and their need for consistency and predictability.

Alignment. Another important task of children this age is beginning to figure out their own identity in a conscious way. They often compare themselves physically or in temperament with mom or dad. Because of their need to sort out qualities of people and to be loyal members of a team of others like themselves, they are particularly vulnerable to "ganging up" with one parent against the other. This happens most often when parents court them as allies or subtly encourage them to hold a grudge against the other parent. These children seem to enjoy the excitement of being involved in the battle—perhaps it helps to ward off loneliness, sadness, and depression. The risk in allowing themselves to feel very close to one parent and express anger against the other is that they are likely to feel one part of themselves is "good" and another part "bad."

Adolescents (thirteen to eighteen years old)

Teenagers have important developmental tasks of their own that can be upset by parental divorce. Basically, their job is to move toward independence from their parents. This is usually accomplished in a series of advances and retreats, alternating between pushing out into the world and returning to more dependent, childish behavior. Like younger children, they tend to see their parents in terms of their own needs, either as weak, fallen idols or powerful, idealized figures. The adolescent wants stable, reliable parents to safely fight against or to fall back on in order to gather strength for the next foray.

Relationship with parents. When parents divorce, adolescents often feel the tables have been turned on them, that the parents are leaving them instead of the other way around. Parents may not be available or able to concentrate on the needs of the adolescent, and the family structure is temporarily abandoned. Divorce confronts the adolescent with the fact that the parents are separate individuals, rather than a unit, and that they are sexual

persons. The distance between generations feels lessened; parents and teen-aged children may confide in each other or compete in appearance or sexual activity. Adolescents may feel that they are being hurried, thrown out of the family before they're ready, or asked to assume adult responsibilities before they've had their fun. They may feel especially vulnerable to their own sexual and aggressive impulses and the temptations of their world.

Analysis. Adolescents may search for continuity and meaning in their own lives by recalling memories, by mourning the family of their childhood, and by trying to understand the causes of their own personalities. They are concerned with the survival of relationships and may try to analyze and learn from their parents' failures. Out of their family experience, they try to clarify their own ideas of personal morality.

Worry. Their awareness of the future may lead them to worry about who will pay for college, whether they will be able to have satisfying sexual lives, or if they will ever be able to make long-term commitments to others. Many adolescents seem to assume failure for themselves, unless reassured otherwise.

Anger. At this age, anger is often directed at both parents for being selfish and insensitive in putting their own needs first. Anger is not uncommon at this age, even in an intact family, but in the divorced family it has a new focus and is useful in covering up a sense of powerlessness and despair.

Responsibility. As children move closer to adulthood, responsibility becomes an important issue. Some adolescents in a divorcing family mature rapidly, become more reasonable about money and more cooperative in temporarily taking over for a depressed or nonfunctioning parent. Others try to escape additional family responsibilities by an over-

active social life or intense involvement in another family. Still others temporarily regress by turning to younger companions, by withdrawing from peer relationships and staying home, or by being unable to maintain their usual level of schoolwork. A few, usually less stable youngsters, fall into the trap of believing that they can take the place of the departed parent.

Because so much is changing so fast at this stage of divorce, everyone in the family may feel a deep panic and hopelessness. Self-help groups for parents and for older children can be especially valuable at this time. A professional mediator also may help parents work out realistic arrangements for the care of and continuing contact with the children by both parents.

Understanding that divorce is a process of family reorganization, a process that people survive and that other people *have* come through, can help. The ways in which parents can help children to cope with the stress will vary with the age of the child, the specific concerns expressed, and the quality of the parent-child relationship. Some general suggestions, applicable to all ages, include:

1. Reassure the child, in age-appropriate ways, that he or she will continue to be loved and cared for and, if possible, by both parents;

2. Recognize the importance of the individual by spending at least a little time alone with each child whenever possible;

3. Encourage open communication and provide a model of honest, but civil, ways of expressing feelings to the children;

4. Try to keep clear "who owns the problem." Give the children control over some decisions that are legitimately theirs (like which shorts to wear on an outing with a visiting parent), but avoid involving them in the struggles between the parents.

After the Divorce

After the legal issues are settled, the adults may feel relief and a new sense of freedom and autonomy. The crisis is past, but many practical problems lie ahead. For most families, reorganizing and stabilizing in new roles take at least a year. During this time, parents may experience feelings of rootlessness, incompetence, and anxiety as they take over new responsibilities, live on less money, and build new kinds of relationships with former spouses and with their children. Because children are also working through their feelings and trying to figure out what the new life will be like, they may exhibit more opposition to parental control, ignore parents' requests, or respond with complaining or aggressive behavior. There may be more open fighting and less cooperation than in the predivorce family. Although this is inevitably a difficult time, the relative openness of the situation offers an opportunity for improving parenting skills and for building more satisfying relationships among family members.

Underlying emotions affect behavior, too. Each child takes on special meaning to the parents during this period of adjustment. The children—or one child—may suddenly seem especially precious and a new closeness will develop. Sometimes a child reminds a parent of his or her former spouse, because of the sex of the child or physical or temperamental resemblances, and that child gets the brunt of the parent's anger toward the former partner. In some families, children are divided up into "his" or "hers" or pressed into new roles as "substitute spouse." When children become especially close to their now-single parent, they may feel deserted if that parent begins to date. The child's position in the family and the sex of the child affect the alliances and conflicts that can develop.

Parents may feel out of control at times. The parent with the primary responsibility for the children often experiences overload in juggling the demands of home, children, and work or school. Being the only parent at home can be intimidating

as well as tiring. Some parents react by hesitating to say no or being afraid to set any limits. Other parents overcontrol, resorting to commands and force. Children, with an exquisite ability to go to the heart of the matter, may respond with criticism of the custodial parent or express a preference to live with the other parent.

The visiting, or noncustodial, parent has to deal with an abrupt change in the relationship with the children. Because the daily routine no longer forms the background of their interactions, both parent and children may feel awkward and uncomfortable. Their time together is usually limited and scheduled. Because of the part-time nature of the situation, visiting parents are often uncertain about how much they should participate in setting moral and behavioral standards. They may fear rejection by the children and buy their good will with extra gifts and outings.

The visiting situation is a whole new ball game. And most of the rules are made by adults to meet their own needs. One research study asked children how they felt about it.[3] Most children wanted more time with the noncustodial parent, more visits, and longer visits—more like it used to be. Children who had a sense of frequent and free access to the visiting parent seemed to be the most satisfied. They had some feeling of control over the part of the divorce that affected them the most. They especially appreciated being able to walk or ride their bikes to see the parent when *they* wanted to. Older children and adolescents found flexibility and their input in the visiting arrangements to be very important. Children liked to have some time alone with the visiting parent. Uncertainty about visiting times was agonizing to children; they felt forgotten and neglected, and often reacted with unpleasant behavior that further cooled their relationship with the parent. Young children were more forgiving of parental inconstancy than were older children, who often became mistrustful and resentful. Very often, parental hostilities flared up again around the

visiting issue, particularly if a new adult friend was involved. These battles were especially distressing to children. For all the children, contact with the noncustodial parent was an extremely important aspect of the postdivorce adjustment.

Shared parenting or co-parenting may be possible in some families as a way of enabling children to maintain more satisfying contacts with both parents. The key to making this arrangement work seems to be the ability of parents to separate their roles as spouses from their roles as parents. Even if they still feel angry about many aspects of their relationship, they may be able to respect each other as parents and commit themselves to cooperating in decision making and in the physical and financial care of their children. Although this form of the postdivorce family is still relatively new, some evidence is accumulating that children can adjust to sharing their time approximately equally between two homes if they understand what to expect. A clear, specific, written agreement between the parents, with provision for altering the arrangements as children mature or circumstances change, supports the adjustment of all family members.

External support for families is important. Counseling or assistance with parenting skills seems to be useful during this stage of divorcing. It is a time when the extended family's support can relieve some of the burden of single parenting and can assure the children that they are lovable and that their family has continuity. Children's friendships are important and should be encouraged, but they do not take the place of the care and love offered by significant adults.

Outcomes for Children

Although age and sex have some influence on children's eventual adjustment to the divorced family, there are other factors, more within the control of the parents, that seem to have greater importance. They are:

1. the postdivorce relationship of the parents—the extent to which they are able to resolve or set aside their own conflicts and function together as parents of the children, whether in a joint or sole custodial arrangement;

2. the quality of the parenting provided by the custodial parent—the extent to which the parent can reestablish predictable, consistent, reasonable discipline and continuity of care and interest in the children; and

3. the quality of the parenting provided by the visiting, or noncustodial, parent—the extent to which this relationship is continued on a regular basis, keeps pace with the child's development, and contributes to the child's self-esteem and sense of being a lovable person.

Nobody ever said it was easy! But, with sensitive support from loving adults combined with their own resilience, many children are growing through their parents' divorce and becoming healthy young persons.

Notes

1. Wallerstein, J. S., and Kelly, J. B. *Surviving the Breakup.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1980, p. 17.
2. Ibid., Chapter 4, pp. 55-95.
3. Ibid., Chapter 8, pp. 132-146.

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Suggested Reading

For Adults

Atkins, E., and Rubin, E. *Part-Time Father.* New York: The Vanguard Press, Inc., 1976.

Baruth, L. G. *A Single Parent's Survival Guide: How to Raise the Children.* Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1979.

Galper, M. *Joint Custody and Co-Parenting: Sharing Your Child Equally.* Philadelphia: Running Press, 1980.

Wallerstein, J. S., and Kelly, J. B. *Surviving the Breakup.* New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1980.

For Children and Adults

Berger, T. *How Does It Feel When Your Parents Get Divorced?* New York: Julian Messner, 1978.

Gardner, R. A. *The Boys and Girls Book About Divorce; With an Introduction for Parents.* New York: Jason Aronson, 1970.

LeShan, E. *What's Going to Happen to Me? When Parents Separate or Divorce.* New York: Four Winds Press, 1978.

List, J. A. *The Day the Loving Stopped: A Daughter's View of Her Parents' Divorce.* New York: Seaview Books, 1980.

Richards, A., and Willis, I. *How to Get It Together When Your Parents Are Coming Apart.* New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1976.

Sinberg, J. *Divorce Is a Grown Up Problem; a Book about Divorce for Young Children and Their Parents.* New York: Avon, 1978.

The Unit at Fayerweather Street School (E. E. Rufes, ed.). *The Kids' Book of Divorce: By, For and About Kids.* Lexington, Massachusetts: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1981.

There are also a number of excellent fiction books for children available in most libraries. Annotated lists are included in some of the books suggested above.

Cooperative Extension, New York State College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, New York State College of Human Ecology, and New York State College of Veterinary Medicine at Cornell University, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture cooperating. In furtherance of acts of Congress May 8 and June 30, 1914, and providing equal opportunities in employment and programs. Lucinda A. Noble, Director.

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